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ABSTRACT

This study examines the following question: Under what circumstances, for what purposes, and in what forms does the head of the state and federal liaison services of the intermediate administrative unit studied employ rhetorical strategies to gain compliance from his associates? This document presents information on the justification for the study, the intermediate unit studied, the author's internship with the unit, and the author's methodology before presenting seven case observations. In the case observations, the author examines the goals of the speaker in the given case and how these goals concord with organizational goals; the nature of the target audiences; the speaker's oral behavior, showing particularly how he altered such things as his style, content, and delivery to meet situational needs; and the author's assessment of whether the speaker adapted consciously or unconsciously to the audience and situation. This document should be regarded as an exploratory study seeking to describe and understand persuasive talk used in a set of conditions peculiar to the type of voluntary organization the intermediate unit typifies. (Author/IRT)

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The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

Department of Speech Communication

Rhetorical Strategies as a Variable of Attaining Compliance in an Organization which Lacks Formal Authority: A Case Study

A Thesis in

Speech Communication

by

Patti J. Thomas

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

March 1977

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Chapter I

Introduction

The idea for this study came from my desire to discover whether communication in natural organizations plays the role ascribed to it in authoritative books. Although little specific description is offered by authorities, most claim that "communication" is the substance of organizational operation.[1] Therefore, when Dr. Alan Wolf, assistant executive director of Pennsylvania's Intermediate Unit #5, offered me an administrative internship in that organization, I felt that I might use that as a chance to observe and describe some phase of communication in the organization.

I had some doubts whether an intermediate unit was a typical formal organization. My only firsthand experience with any intermediate unit had been with the audio-visual aids services which they provide. I had assumed the intermediate unit was some sort of loosely structured service organization. Therefore, during my first interview with Dr. Wolf in March, 1976, I inquired about the structure and functions of the intermediate unit system and specifically about I.U. #5. I was given a tour of the facilities and permitted brief conversations with many of the staff members. I was convinced that the intermediate unit was a formal organization and that its operation could be used as a field in which to observe communication in operation.

It is important that a distinction be made between what is termed here "formal" organizations and other types of organizations. According to Blau and Scott:

> . . . there are organizations of various kinds with diverse aims, of varying size and complexity, and with different characteristics. What they have in common is that a number of men have become organized into a social unit--an organization--that has been established for the explicit purpose of achieving certain goals. If the accomplishment of a task requires that more than a mere handful of men work together, they cannot simply proceed by having each other do whatever he thinks needs to be done; rather they must first get themselves organized. . . and they formulate procedures that govern the relations among the members of the organization and the duties each is expected to perform. Once firmly established, an organization then tends to assume an identity of its own which makes it independent of the people who founded it or those who constitute its membership.[2]

A standard, inclusive definition of formal organizations is not possible, due to variation in the nature of the goals and means of attaining them employed by organizations. However, Etzioni suggests that central to a definition of a formal organization is that ". . .organizations should be defined by one attribute--social units that pursue specified goals--to set organizations apart from other social units, such as families, friendship groups, collectivities, and societies. On all other attributes organizations are best assumed to vary unless proven otherwise."[3] Thus, although the behavior of formal organizations may vary, they appear to have the common component of goal centeredness which can be found in the intermediate units in general, and in I.U. #5.

The intermediate units were created by State Legislative Act 102 of 1970 and were activated in July, 1971 for the purpose of replacing the County Superintendent system and to improve the effectiveness of contact between the Pennsylvania Department of Education and

the local school districts. An intermediate unit may serve a city in part or whole as in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, or it may serve up to five counties. Intermediate units are democratically organized. They derive guidance from boards elected from the school districts they serve. They are primarily funded by the state government. They are authorized to obtain some funding from the districts they serve as well as funding from appropriate federal grants. They have no authority designated to them by law. School districts, however, have difficulty complying with state law in matters like teaching exceptional children or getting federal money without cooperating with their intermediate unit. Still, by law, the intermediate units are ostensibly directed in the nature of their operations by the state and in their scope by the preferences of the districts they serve. They are further limited by the amount of federal funds they can obtain.

The intermediate units may offer a variety of programs to the school districts within their domain. However, individual school districts have the option to refuse to participate in any or all of the programs which are offered. This is not as simple as it seems for there are programs mandated by other state legislation such as the "Right to Education" Act, which requires special programs for the handicapped. In order for a school district to comply with state laws of this type, it must avail itself of intermediate unit service or pay for its own special programs. Only the largest and most affluent urban districts can afford to ignore intermediate unit service. Once intermediate unit service is accepted by a school district it becomes a contributor to that particular program's operating fund, for it pays

its share of the costs or a portion thereof if the intermediate unit has obtained supplementary state or federal funds for the program operation. However, a school district can refuse to participate in any of the intermediate unit's programs and still remain active in its control through membership on the intermediate unit board of directors.

In addition to coordination with school districts, the intermediate units must work with the Pennsylvania Department of Ecucation (PDE) as mandated under Pennsylvania State Law. The intermediate unit system is the second echelon of the state's three echelon educational system designed by the Pennsylvania legislature; PDE, intermediate unit, and school district. The PDE does not have a great deal of formal power over the intermediate units, but it does have administrative control over the use of state funds and the management of state mandated programs. It is assumed that the PDE and the intermediate units will not have a conflict of interest since they share mutual goals stemming from their positions in the educational system of the state. Whether the PDE and the intermediate units cooperate or not however, is largely voluntary. The same is true in the relationship between the intermediate units and the school districts they serve. Cooperation, for the most part, is voluntary.

The intermediate units have no formal power to use to achieve their goals. They cannot give directives as no one is designated to follow those directives. They must persuade, instruct, negotiate, and bargain with their various organizational associates in order to convince them to cooperate in meeting joint objectives. Objectives are defined or recommended by the state and success at meeting them is

is assessed by the number and type of programs in which the intermediate unit can convince the local schools to participate. A study of the intermediate unit system done by the Budget and Finance Committee of the state legislature evaluates the activities of intermediate units throughout the state.[4] A comparative examination of funding in the report leads to the inference that I.U. #5 is one of the more active intermediate units in the state and thus, examining it as a formal organization might materialize descriptive information about how indivuduals in I.U. #5 persuade, instruct, negotiate, and bargain in order to achieve organizational goals. Because I had only a ten week observation period available to me, I decided to attempt to study only a single component of the operation, one typical of the complex and fragile structure of the I.U.

I selected for observation one of the most visible communicative activities carried on by the Intermediate Unit, the legislative Liaison Services component which provide the school districts with help in obtaining and administering federal funds for federal projects within the Intermediate Unit, as well as in obtaining and distributing to the districts information about legislation affecting school districts. The I.U. also helps to supervise school districts' budgeting for specific programs. David G. Minnis heads the State and Federal Liaison Services at I.U. #5. He has two assistants who deal with a federally funded project in career education, a computer programmer/analyst, and secretarial services. His annual budget for operations and staff is derived partly from Intermediate Unit budget and partly from federal grants. His activities on particular projects are usually

funded by the projects themselves. Minnis, like virtually all of the other officials of the Intermediate Unit has a vested interest in funding his own job. Because of the tenuous nature of intermediate unit funding, each administrator spends a portion of his time seeing to it that sufficient funding is obtained to support his job in the next fiscal year. This may entail writing project proposals, soliciting project support from I.U. administrators, or developing cooperative projects for school districts and the PDE. There is a serious penalty for failure--no job. Thus, Minnis' position can be construed as mutually directed to accomplish Intermediate Unit goals as well as his own. In addition, many of Minnis' fellow workers at the Intermediate Unit are partially dependent on his activities to maintain their positions. There is no possibility of bluffing when he has not successfully completed his tasks. If the funds are not obtained his paycheck or someone else's will not be received. Thus, tenuous funds create and urgency and a stark reality about Minnis' job that makes it ideal for study. Minnis is constantly active and in contact with others.

For this study I raised the following question:

<u>Under what circumstances, for what purposes, and in what forms does this man employ rhetorical strategies to gain compliance from his associates with his advice, requests, and decisions?</u>

I have already noted that intermediate units must persuade, instruct, negotiate, and bargain in order to accomplish their purposes. Minnis' position in the Intermediate Unit is ideally suited for the use of these means because of the number, variety, and nature of verbal

conversations which it entails. I define "rhetorical strategies" as patterns of adaptations used by Minnis to obtain compliance from the persons with whom he must deal. I designate these persons as "associates," which accomodates the various natures of his respondents and use "compliance" as agreement to fulfill a designated task. The term compliance is used because it is ". . . a central element of organizational structure,"[5] and thus, lack of compliance inhibits or prevents accomplishment of organizational goals. In short, I will, in this study examine a series of cases in which I will report:

1. Minnis' goals in the given case and how these goals concord with organizational goals.
2. The nature of the target audiences.
3. Minnis' oral behavior, showing particularly how he altered style, content, delivery, etc. to meet situational needs.
4. My assessment of whether Minnis adapted consciously or unconsciously to the audience and situation.

I will then attempt to assess his effectiveness by describing the degree to which his audience complied. Compliance will be indicated by evidence (through oral, written, or behavioral means) that some form of agreement or assent has been given to ar advisory, request, or recommendation made by Minnis pertinent to some goal acceptable within I.U. objectives. More specifically, I will describe the process of acceptance and involvement on the part of his audience as purveyed by Minnis.

Minnis' job is primarily persuasive. He speaks to people in

various circumstances in order to get them to act in ways that will support his goals. Presumably Minnis is conscious of his efforts and thus his attempts to instruct and negotiate as well as his direct attempts at persuasion can be seen as rhetorical acts. For the purposes of this study, I will attempt to describe patterns of his rhetoric as I describe particular cases. That is, I will comment on ethos, pathos, and logos or, in other words, how Minnis used himself as an authority, how he used emotions, and the structure and content of this proofs, where they are offered. In the final chapter I will attempt to deal with his derivation and planning of his talk by making inferences about what I observed and by asking him questions, where possible, about his behavior.

The answer to this question is important in several respects. The intermediate units are an example of a new kind of public organization, democratically organized, primarily funded by government, and having no formal and legitimate power over the bodies they must in some way serve. To the casual observer the Intermediate Unit appears to be an administrative unit, but, like similar government programs, for example "Model Cities,"[6] the authority that naturally accompanies administration must be derived by persuasion. If we can describe how rhetorical strategies are used by one important persuader in this Intermediate Unit we might be able to generate some questions and issues about this kind of administrative operation that could help other intermediate units examine and evaluate similar operations. We might further gain an understanding of how rhetorical communication functions as a variable in obtaining compliance with organizational

desires by people for whom such compliance cannot be attained by issuance of a directive.

This thesis should be regarded as an exploratory study seeking to describe and understand persuasive talk used in a set of conditions peculiar to the type of voluntary organization the I.U. typifies. There are no hypotheses, though examination of this case and cases similar to it could well lead to hypotheses about the utility of various meetings and encounters as well as about the kind of training that might be useful to people who engage in this kind of persuasion.

Chapter II

Justification for the Study

According to Blau and Scott, the case-field study ". . . is the typical research design employed in the study of formal organization."[7] A field study is characterized by close observation and description. The observer may be placed solely to observe or he may be a participant in the events he observes. In either case there is a small interference with what is natural. The non-participant observer is an unnatural presence. As the participant-observer observes, he is acting in a way alien to natural state.

Other researchers who have previously employed this design can be cited to help demonstrate the applicability of this method. Dallas, in his 1967 study examined how communication from powerful citizens affected the outcome of an air pollution case.[8] Dauria examined behind the scenes machinations in a power struggle in an educational administrative unit.[9] Steber examined the operation of a citizen's council in a Model Cities program.[10] Cooner observed the use of communication in institutional vs. private goal seeking.[11] Turner reported on how a public administered organization communicated with its public.[12] In each case the researcher had two issues to deal with: 1) maintaining a neutral posture as an observer and 2) remaining within legitimate theoretical confines. In order to assure maximum neutrality, an observer must proceed with a carefully planned method of selecting and recording observations. He must be prepared, in advance, to declare what is expected and to be able to discern unusual or atypical observations. Furthermore, he must be able to note events without the use of

biasing language. It is also useful to discover and make public the observer's expectations about the outcome to prevent such expectations from unconsciously biasing the acquisition and recording of information.[13]

Organizational theorists have had much to say about the importance of communication in organizational operations. However, most field or case studies of communication have focused on its role within an organizational structure; more specifically, the way communication takes place between hierarchal levels within that one structure. In this respect Etzioni acknowledges that "communication as a symbolic process by which the orientations of lower participants to the organization are reinforced or changed"[14] has not been studied. Descriptions of how communication affects the operation of democratically organized service organizations are lacking. Steber points this out in his study of citizen participation. He notes that newer types of government organizations are characterized by role confusion. Legitimate power is lacking and neither administrators or citizens' units are sure about what deferences each owes to the other.[15]

Etzioni recognizes two kinds of organizational power: legitimate and nonlegitimate.[16] "Power" refers to the ability to get things done in the organization through the issuance of directives to "lower participants," members of the organizational bureaucracy whose job requires them to follow such directives. Nonlegitimate sources of control are those means by which things get done in an organization by means other than the issuance of a directive. Although Etzioni does not make it clear precisely what these means are, he alludes to the

possibility that persuasion may be used to gain compliance of underlings with supervisor's wishes. Etzioni does not consider the kind of organization represented by the Intermediate Unit, where power is indeterminate and must be negotiated into existence. As Steber points out, there is a paradox in an organization presumably controlled by an advisory board when the advisory board cannot function without supervisory professional services independently performed by the very people the board is supposed to supervise.[17] In an organization like this, there is only nonlegitimate (not to be confused with illegitimate) power derived through an exchange of persuasions.

Etzioni states that most "studies tend to focus on authority, or legitimate power, as this concept is defined." The significance of this focus is that it "has led to an overemphasis on legitimate power [and] it is time to give full status to nonlegitimate sources of control." Communication, according to Etzioni, is one such source of control.[18] Legitimate power refers to a kind of organization chart indicating who has the right to tell whom to do what. When there are no such rights conferred, but components are linked together in order to deploy them toward a common goal, nonlegitimate power must be developed by the various components as each declares a role for itself and then proceeds to convince other components of the utility of the role. Eventually a form of legitimate power may develop through custom or agreement. As I will note in my detailed consideration of particular Intermediate Unit activities, the I.U. is still at the point of convincing associates of the utility of its declared role. Thus nonlegitimate power is exercised through communication.

Communication as a means to exercise power can be used:

1. to inform people of what is wanted,
2. to persuade people of what ought to be done,
3. to negotiate and/or bargain about what ought to be done, and
4. to intimidate or coerce people into doing what ought to be done.

In this study there was no one with sufficient power to intimidate or coerce, which is believed by Etzioni "to affect adversely such matters as . . . communication, and thus reduce effectiveness."[19] However, Minnis, the specific individual to be studied, does have to attain nonlegitimate power by communicative acts which inform, persuade, and negotiate and/or bargain. These communicative acts provide Minnis a means by which to obtain compliance.

Blau and Scott refer to the role of communication in organizations more similar to the Intermediate Unit. They state that officials of service organizations "are confronted with . . . having to motivate [the people served] in various ways."[20] The reference here is to clients of social service agencies like Social Welfare or Mental Health agencies where clients are not obligated to seek service. This is not precisely the case with an intermediate unit. An intermediate unit must serve a district and in so doing must permit a modicum of governance from the district. A Social Service agency does not have representatives of their clients' organizations exercising control. Thus the communication to clients is relatively simple. It consists of 1) informing clients about the available services,

2) telling clients why the service is valuable, and 3) showing the client how to obtain the service. In an intermediate unit, administrators must do all these things as well as negotiate their existence regularly through various funding agencies as well as funding from their clients. Minnis is actually an entrepreneur. He must communicate to define his role in the Intermediate Unit, to help advance the policies of the Intermediate Unit, to serve his clientele, to influence the nature of the influence his clientele exerts on the Intermediate Unit, and to convince funding agencies that his own job and those of his fellow workers are worth supporting.

Blau and Scott also state that "the professionals must not become 'captives' of their clientele and surrender to them the power to determine the nature of the service furnished."[21] The Intermediate Unit staff are "professionals," their "clientele" are the districts with whom they must deal. However, by law, the intermediate units are controlled by boards of directors elected from the school districts which they serve. Thus, they appear to be "captives," for state law gives them no legitimate power, and furthermore authorizes their clientele to determine the nature of the service furnished. The only means for the Intermediate Unit to maintain its nonlegitimate authority is to persuade the board under which it operates that it has services to offer, the dessemination of which should not be curtailed. The Intermediate Unit must seek to accomplish state goals, comply with federal regulations, deliver mandated services and do whatever else it can work out with the governing board. Informing, persuading, and negotiating are the only means available. The State Budget and

Finance Committee Report clearly indicates that there is no consistency in type or quantity of service among the intermediate units.[22] A successful intermediate unit is one which has persuaded the governing board to surrender control, at least in the respect that it relies on the intermediate unit's professionals for wise judgements and does not appempt to dictate all decisions without intermediate unit staff input.

Blau and Scott cite a third problem which faces service organizations. Sometimes what is best for the administration is not best for the people being served.[23] In the case of the intermediate units, the need for administrators to justify their own service often makes them appear to be adversaries of the districts who hold the power to wipe out programs which justify positions. The intermediate unit administrator has the problem of persuading district officials that they are both serving a common cause. When there is conflict between local and state goals, the intermediate unit personnel must represent the state's point of view and attempt to persuade districts to comply with directives. If they fail they lose credibility with both the state and the districts. In no case can intermediate unit officials issue directives for they do not have the power to do so. The state and the governing board can both issue directives to the intermediate unit. The intermediate unit thus remains in a constant position of jeopardy. Only persuasion backed up by demonstrated competency allows it to do its job.

On Minnis' job, compliance cannot be attained by issuing a directive. Rather, compliance, with which this study deals, is assent or agreement to a request, advice, or decision. There is no

bureaucratic "punishment" resulting from a failure to comply with this man, or few of the Intermediate Unit operations. Seeking compliance this way requires persuasive communication, or rhetoric: communication directed to the purpose of evoking change in a given case. Rhetoric uses the reputation of the speaker, emotional appeals, and logic to try to bring about the desired changes. Says Aristotle:

> Such being the instruments of persuasion, to master all three obviously calls for a man who can reason logically, can analyze the types of human character [ethe], along with the virtues, and, thirdly, can analyze the emotions-the nature and quality of each several emotion, with the means by which, and the manner in which, it is excited. Thus it follows that Rhetoric is a kind of offshoot, on the one hand, of Dialectic, and on the other, of that study of Ethics which may properly be called 'political.' [With Aristotle, Ethics, the science dealing with individual conduct, shades off into Politics (a broader subject), which deals with the conduct and activities of men in groups--of the State.] . . . As we said at the outset, Rhetoric is a branch of Dialectic, and resembles that. Neither of them is a science with a definite subject-matter; both are faculties for providing argument.[24]

Aristotle's description of the requirements for mastery and the placement of rhetoric could be easily transformed into the requirements for mastery and the placement of Minnis' position in the Intermediate Unit. In order to effectively use rhetorical strategies, his primary means for goal accomplishment, he must reason logically, analyze human character and the emotions. Minnis' individual conduct, representative of the Intermediate Unit, "deals with the conduct and activities of men in groups--of the State" primarily through contact with members of the PDE and the legislative bodies. In addition to the nature of Minnis'

conversaitons, his position itself is under State control, and as such, is political. Finally, there is no specific subject matter or method in this job, thus, it requires an applicable science for achieving the persuasive goals.

Rhetoric, in its position as an applicable science, must then be such that the behaviors of its practitioners can be observed. It is the purpose of this study to observe and analyze the rhetorical strategies employed by this man in his attempts to attain organizational goals. By looking at how Minnis operates I may get some insight into the ways that rhetorical strategies directly applied by an individual help similar organizations achieve their goals.

Chapter III

Background for the Study

In the previous chapter, I established a theoretical basis for examining how Minnis talks with the various components of the organization. In this chapter I will describe my method of observation, the milieu in which I observed, how I kept my notes, and how I processed them. In order to understand my viewing posture, it is necessary to understand the intermediate unit principle as well as the organization of Intermediate Unit #5.

Part I: The Intermediate Unit

As stated earlier, the intermediate unit system is the middle echelon of a tri-level public school system in Pennsylvania. It fits between the Pennsylvania Department of Education and individual school districts. The Commonwealth is served by 29 such intermediate units, each of which operates independently to service their assigned share of the 505 school districts in Pennsylvania.

Intermediate units were established by Pennsylvania Legislative Act 102 of 1970, four months after the passage of Pennsylvania Legislative Act 192 which dissolved the county school offices which the intermediate units were designed to replace. However, neither Act 192 nor Act 102 transferred to the intermediate units the regulatory and approval powers previously vested in the county school offices. County superintendents previously disbursed state funds, administered federal grants to local school districts and supervised county-wide activities

like vo-tech schools, special education and various remedial services. The originating legislation organized the intermediate units as service agencies to school districts, and as "intermediate" agencies situated between the Pennsylvania Department of Education and the local area school districts, but it did not specifically state that intermediate units should assume powers previously delegated to the counties. Thus, the precise activities of any given intermediate unit was a matter for negotiation between the intermediate unit and the school districts it served.

In the first year of operation (1971-72 school year), the intermediate units assumed they were to provide essential services formerly provided by county boards of school directors. The assumption was challenged in many cases by individual districts and several intermediate units found little to do in the first year. Thereafter each intermediate unit board of directors was given the duty to adopt annually a program of services as negotiated with the school districts supervised. Added legislation under Chapter 13 of the State Board regulations and State Act 89 of 1975 gave the intermediate units specific powers and duties in the education of exceptional children and services to nonpublic school children. State Acts 194 and 195 of 1972 were effective through fiscal year 1974-75; replaced by Act 89 because of a Supreme Court ruling of unconstitutionality. In addition, intermediate units have been authorized by the state to deliver any or all of the following services subject to agreement by the local school districts:

1. curriculum development and instruction improvement,

such as refining curricula and generating new instructional programs.

2. educational planning, such as handling influx, bilinguals, etc.
3. instructional materials, preparation and distribution such as visual aids, photography equipment, film makers, graphics, etc.
4. continuing professional education services, such as workshops and courses for certification and for particular educational needs.
5. pupil personnel services, such as speech and hearing therapy, psychological services, services to exceptional children, etc.
6. state and federal liaison services, such as planning and demonstrating state prepared programs, obtain grants from state and federal government, etc.
7. management services, such as fiscal planning, logistics, transport consultation, interrelations of school law, etc.

It is important to note, also, that Section 907-A of the School Code states that intermediate units may provide services not included in the "approved program of services" to school districts or other entities such as businesses or organizations which provide the funds to finance those services.

Many intermediate unit progrmas originate from the principle

that through a consolidation of school district money and students, minority needs can be filled more efficiently. The most common example of this type of area programming is the vo-tech school. Each school district has a minority of students for whom the regular school curriculum is not satisfactory and for whom a vo-tech education seems more appropriate. The individual school district cannot afford the costs of supplying a curriculum to fit minority needs, but by joining with other area schools the districts, collectively, can provide the needed service. The intermediate unit commonly coordinates enterprises of this sort. Coordination consists of gathering and disbursing funds, disseminating information, handling problems and special needs, resolving disagreements, and being responsible for general administration.

With the exception of programs for exceptional children, the school districts are not required to participate in programs offered through the intermediate unit. The officials of the intermediate unit must convince counterpart officials of school districts within its domain that intermediate unit programs are sufficiently worthwhile to warrant local participation.

The intermediate units are partly funded by the state. State money, however, is earmarked either for salaries or specific programs for the most part. For local services, each district must contribute to the intermediate unit operating budget. Without local cooperation and contribution, the intermediate units could not offer programs other than those mandated and paid for by the state. There are at least two intermediate units whose services are so restricted.

The school districts are not required to divide the total bill, however, for there are numerous state and federal grants available for full or partial support of special programs. The intermediate unit is responsible for arranging, obtaining, and administering this funding for its participating school districts. It does this under the supervision of a governing board made up of representatives of the districts. The governing board "elects" the executive director of the intermediate unit who in turn selects his staff with the approval of the board.

An intermediate unit that engages in obtaining federal funding usually has a person or persons designated:

1. to consult with districts about programs that are eligible for funding.
2. to help prepare grant proposals, and
3. to supervise operation of programs once they are authorized.

An intermediate unit's persuasive task is threefold. It designs programs in addition to those mandated to it. It obtains compliance from area school districts leading to participation and support. It persuades funding agencies that programs it has designed are worthwhile and that funds ought to be granted.

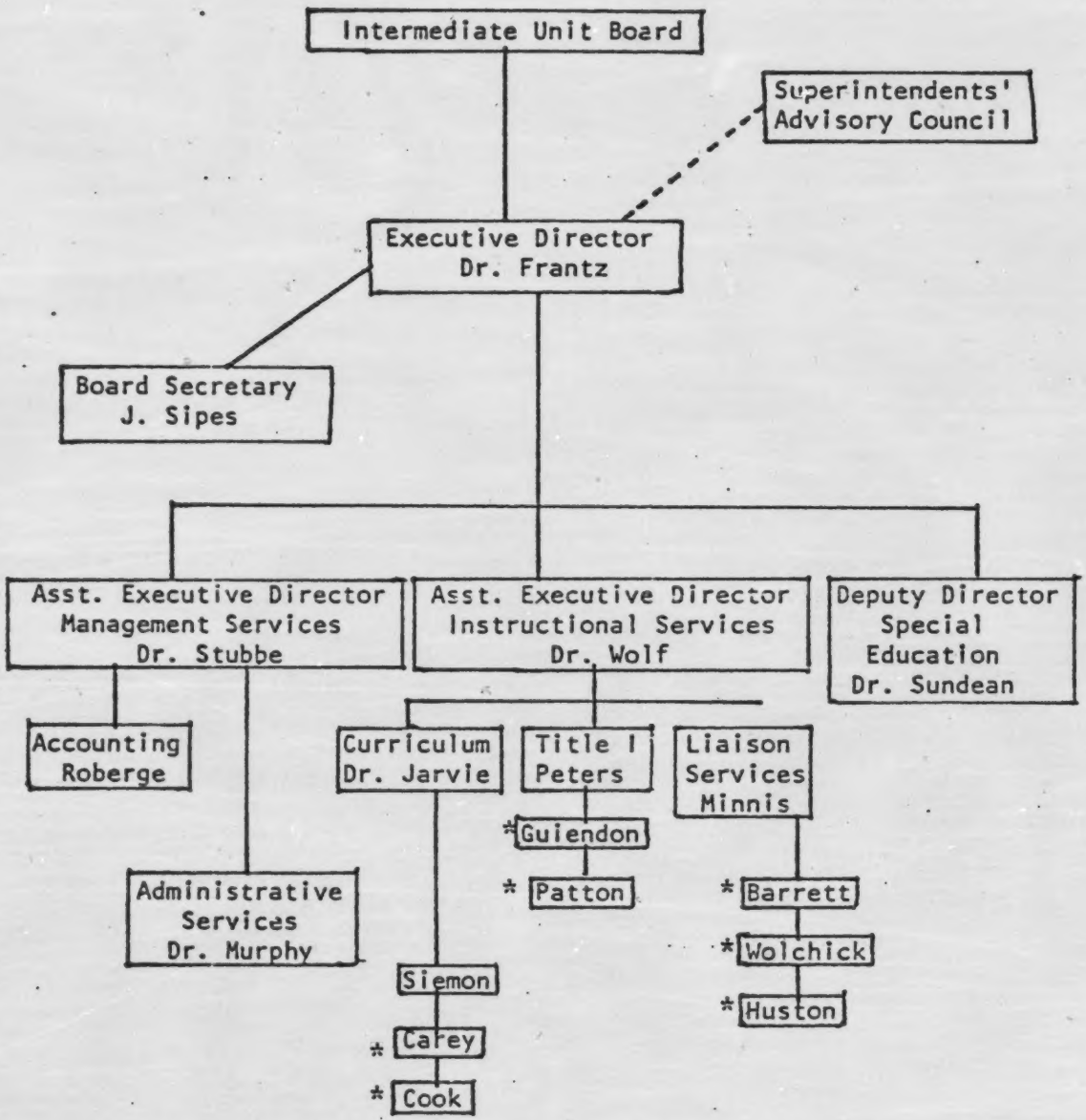
Because intermediate units, for the most part, have been operating independently since their inception, they have met with varying degrees of success. This study was conducted in Intermediate Unit #5 which serves the Northwest Tri-County Area (Erie, Crawford, and Warren Counties), and appears to be one of the more successfully

operating intermediate units. Success, in this case, is determined by the type and number of programs each unit offers and the degree of school participation they have achieved.

The particular object of study was the postion occupied by David G. Minnis, the State and Federal Liaison Services Specialist. The aministrative organization of the Northwest Tri-County Intermediate Unit is such that Minnis' position is under the supervision of the Assistant Executive Director in charge of Instructional Services, Dr. Alan Wolf. The cart following show how Intermediate Unit #5 is organized. Most intermediate units follow this pattern. Postions with an asterik (*) are based on "soft" money, which requires a grant be written periodically to sustain them. Other positions are "solid," part of the regular Intermediate Unit budget and funded by the state.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

NORTHWEST TRI-COUNTY INTERMEDIATE UNIT



Minnis' official job description follows. I have underlined sections which describe his task as a communicator.

JOB DESCRIPTION

SPECIALIST - STATE AND FEDERAL LIAISON SERVICES

Section I. General Responsibilities

The Specialist has the responsibility for providing legislative liaison services for the Intermediate Unit and member school districts, ensuring that state and federal public officials are apprised of the needs of school districts in Crawford, Erie, and Warren Counties. In addition, the Specialist has the responsibility for directing the coordination of federal funding for the Intermediate Unit and member districts. The position is intended to be applicable to one specialist working under the leadership of the Assistant Director for Instructional Services.

Section II. Specific Duties

a. Legislative Liaison Services

1. Collect, analyze, and disseminate information relating to state and federal legislation affecting education, including administrative rulings and guidelines incident to their execution.
2. Maintain liaison with federal legislators and with representatives of federal executive agencies, particularly the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the U.S. Office of Education and the Department of Labor.
3. Communicate with state legislators, advising them of the status of education and enlisting their support for legislative programs which enhance education for the member districts

of the Intermediate Unit.

4. Maintain liaison with representatives of state agencies whose operations reflect upon education, including the Pennsylvania Department of Education, the Department of Labor and Industry, the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board, the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation, the Human Relations Commission, and all agencies related to the funding of education.
5. Interact with staff of Legislative Services Division, Department of Education.
   a. Obtain information regarding moment to moment status and location of legislative flow, i.e., House and Senate Committees, Governor.
   b. Discuss insights into legislative strategies, i.e., probability, etc.
   c. Obtain printed legislative materials - copies of proposed legislation, etc.
   d. Arrange for consultative meetings involving legislators and members of the Legislative Services staff, i.e. legislator(s), representatives of Legislative Services and the Intermediate Unit.
   e. Arrange for presentations to officially constituted committees, reading information relative to all aspects of education, i.e. Basic Education hearings.
6. Coordinate activities of the Northwest Tri-County Intermediate Unit Board's Legislative Council.
   a. Help schedule meetings.

b. Advise members regarding the nature and status of legislation affecting education.

c. Transmit concerns registered by the Council to legislators and administrators of executive departments.

b. Federal and State Funding Liaison Services

1. Serve as consultant, interpretor, and advisor to the Intermediate Unit staff and the member schools in the planning and development of federal projects.
2. Assist in the preparation of project proposals and applications for all federal projects at the Intermediate Unit including the member districts.
3. Participate in the preparation of the annual budget with specific responsibility for the part related to federally funded projects.
4. Act as liaison between Intermediate Unit, member districts, the state and federal agencies.
5. Advise school districts in initiating, supervising and evaluating projects financed by federal funds.
6. Be responsible for knowing what acts or titles may be utilized by the Intermediate Unit and its member districts including the amounts of funds allocatable for available.
7. Direct the developmental work of the Intermediate Unit in obtaining necessary funds to meet Intermediate Unit needs. Also to aid the Executive Director in the growth and development of the Intermediate Unit concept.
8. Assist in the preparation of reports to state and federal

agencies relating to Intermediate Unit projects financed by federal grants.

9. Supervise the Regional Career Education Projects.
10. Conduct workshops on career education.
11. Supervise the activities of the Federal Programs within the Intermediate Unit when requested by the Executive Director.
12. Perform related work as required.

Words like "supervise," "participate," "assist," etc. may also contain communicative function. The word "direct" is used only once (b., 7) and in reference to internal work at the Intermediate Unit. The other responsibilities clearly require Minnis to inform, persuade, and negotiate in the process of carrying out his duties.

Minnis' position is typical of intermediate unit jobs which have no formal authority with which to make demands. While he may direct the work of his subordinates, he must rely on his persuasive abilities to deal with his external clientele. The federal government is not obligated to provide funds to anyone. Minnis must arrange persuasive grant applications. School districts are not obligated to apply for federal funds. Minnis must not only convince them they should apply, but he must show them how. If he convinces a school district to apply and then does not get the money, he loses. There is a great deal at stake for him with every move. He must keep contacts in Washington and Harrisburg so that he knows what is possible, in addition to his continuing contacts in the districts. He must not only be aware of how to tap into new programs, but he must induce

districts to make initial and continuing attempts to obtain funds. Through all of this he must tend to maintenance of his own job by seeing to it that funds are available to pay him. Thus, his position is an ideal one to study in order to observe the role of communication in a loosely fabricated organization where talk, more than the organizational chart or the law, is the adhesive which holds it together.

Part II: Arrangement of Internship

My internship was arranged through the Speech Communication Department at The Pennsylvania State University and the Northwest Tri-County Intermediate Unit. Although not a part of departmental curriculum, internships for graduate students in the field of speech communication are considered a valuable educational experience and are not unusual. The first intern with I.U. #5 worked in public relations with Dr. Wolf and was offered a full time job at the conclusion of his term.

I had several conversations with Dr. Wolf about the internship. The previous intern had not done formal research during his stay. Since I wished to do research on some phase of communication a visit to the premises was arranged along with a formal interview with Dr. Wolf.

During my initial interview with Dr. Wolf, March 1976, we agreed that the activities of David G. Minnis, State and Federal Liaison Services Specialist, would be ideal to study. At this interview we also agreed that if I could be a participant-observer I would be

in the best possible position to observe Minnis' communicative activities. The rationale was that if I posed as a staff member it would allow me to observe private conversation. Furthermore, by participating in the activities of the Intermediate Unit I would get an understanding of its total operation thereby, providing me with a context for observations.

I arrived at the Northwest Tri-County Intermediate Unit September 7, 1976 to begin what was termed an administrative internship under David G. Minnis. Dr. Wolf informed me that Minnis was out of town for the day. Dr. Wolf then assigned me to an office, which at the Intermediate Unit consists of a walled cubicle. Only the five men in the top positions had regular offices. Minnis' two assistants, Stephen Barrett and Barbara Wolchick, spent the day familiarizing me with I.U. operations and some information about the man for whom I was working. Barrett and Wolchick are the Program Coordinators of the federally funded Career Education Project which Minnis administrates.

I met Minnis my second day at the Intermediate Unit. We talked about what I needed to accomplish by working with him: that is how to watch his communication activities and at the same time do useful work as a regular member of his staff. My arrival was untimely, however, for Minnis was unusually busy. Minnis put me to work getting acquainted with my surroundings, reading the legislation on educational issues which was, at that time, still in the assembly, and writing various reports about that legislation. After about two weeks of this kind of work I had obtained a basic understanding of I.U. operations and the current legislation.

Minnis appears to be a highly respected man in the Intermediate Unit, and also seems well regarded throughout the entire educational system of the state. He makes contact with a large number of administrators in the process of doing his job. His regular contacts include:

1. Legislators and their staff members for the purpose of keeping up to date on current legislation.
2. School district superintendents to keep them up to date on legislation and funding procedures.
3. Area school board members, primarily those on the I.U. Legislative Council, to keep them up to date on legislative procedure, actions, and to obtain their opinions on legislative activities.
4. Governing Board members at regular intervals at meetings for the purpose of making and confirming policy decisions.
5. I.U. #5 staff members for the purpose of helping them coordinate their programs in line with grant requirements.
6. Executive Director, Dr. Kenneth Frantz, and Assistant Executive Director, Dr. Wolf, of I.U. #5 in order to define the policy of I.U. #5 in regard to current legislation and federal and state procedures.
7. The PDE in order to keep it advised on how I.U. #5

is administering state and federal funds and to keep up to date on new regulations concerning those funds, and

8. Occasionally with a variety of other persons and organizations which are not relevant to this study.

Although the coordination of the federally funded Career Education Project is a part of Minnis' job, his activities are primarily advisory. His two staff members, Wolchick and Barrett, handle the details. Thus, Minnis' role with this project is primarily one of supervision. Minnis apparently has a good relationship with his subordinates which allows him a great deal of freedom to focus his attention on the State and Federal Liaison Services.

My position under Minnis required me to do any work of which I was capable in the State and Federal Liaison Services and Career Education Project. Because of the technicalities of some of Minnis' work I could not become involved with all aspects of his work in the short time I was there. I was particularly uninstructed in matters of budgeting and expenditures. My position primarily entailed:

1. acting as secretary to the I.U. Legislative Council,
2. writing letters concerning recent legislation to school superintendents,
3. assisting in the completion of a descriptive booklet on the Career Education Project, and
4. assisting in the completion of a teaching unit for

classroom use in the Career Education Project. In addition, I travelled around the region with Minnis as he made his various contacts. At those times I was employed as a secretary at meetings or was introduced an an intern from The Pennsylvania State University who was observing intermediate unit operations. My duties with the Career Education Project had nothing to do with this study, nor did the letter writing project. In my role either as secretary or intern, I was permitted to function as a participant observer as Minnis carried on his tasks. For example, I was able to participate in meetings with members of the Pennsylvania Department of Education in Harrisburg, Pa. and members of the Pennsylvania Legislature and their staff members. I attended Legislative Council meetings, meetings with business and industry, the Erie City Commissioners, the I.U. staff, as well as visited formally and informally with school superintendents about legislative or funding matters.

There were limitations on what I was able to observe. Although I do not feel that I was ever purposedly denied access to information, there were times when I was unable to attend various meetings. There were a number of reasons for this. Most important were the lack of funds with which to finance trips to Harrisburg and luncheons to which Minnis only was invited. There were also meetings for which Minnis had little prior notice, and hence for which he could not acquaint me with details about them necessary to be of value for this study. Meetings between the Executive Director, Assistant Executive Director, and Minnis were often restricted, usually due to the work schedules of these individuals and the time necessary for me to understand the

activities of these meetings. I also refrained from attending meetings concerning personnel problems, for fear of violating confidentiality. I feel that the conversations I was able to observe are representative of Minnis' position at the Intermediate Unit. Minnis confirmed this and assured me that I had the opportunity to see him engage in most of his important tasks.

Minnis and I were able to talk a great deal during my stay at I.U. #5. We sometimes spoke for short periods in his office, but he was usually in the midst of something and needed the office time to attend to business. Our conversations primarily took place during traveling time or between meetings away from the office. Several meetings were held in Erie, which gave us about a half hour each way to discuss the details of the meeting, in addition to how my work was going generally. We also had a great deal of time to talk between meetings in Harrisburg, where we spent two days meeting with the Pennsylvania Department of Education and Legislators' staff members.

In addition to the meetings I attended with Minnis, I was given the opportunity to observe and participate in a great deal of communicative activity outside of the focus of this study in my role as an intern at the I.U. I attended many meetings with Mr. Barrett and Miss Wolchick and thus, was able to observe their communicative behaviors with teachers, administrators, and area businessmen. In addition, I was able to attend the monthly meetings of the Intermediate Unit Board of Directors, and observed many inneroffice communicative behaviors.

Since it is impossible and non-productive to offer a minute by minute description of my observation of Minnis, I have chosen seven

situations in which I feel that Minnis' persuasive efforts are best exemplified. I selected these examples not because of their degree of success or failure, but because I had the best opportunity to observe in detail the communicative activity and because these examples best exemplify Minnis' use of the behavior alternatives open to him.

These situations are:

I. Business Interaction at the PDE

II. Hallway Encounter with a Minor Official at the PDE

III. Stopping at the Capitol

IV. Erie City Commissioners and County School Superintendents

V. Interaction with Fellow Worker at I.U. #5

VI. Luncheon for Career Education Project

VII. Meeting with Chairman of the Legislative Council.

Part III: Methodology

The question raised by this study is: Under what circumstances, for what purposes and in what forms does Minnis employ rhetorical strategies to gain compliance from his associates with his advice, requests, and decisions?

I have selected seven situations as exemplary of the circumstances in which he works and the way he performs his tasks. My description provides for each case the following information:

1. Minnis' goals in the given case and how these

goals concord with organizational goals.

2. The nature of the target audiences.
3. Minnis' oral behavior, showing particularly how he altered style, content, delivery, etc. to meet situational needs.
4. My assessment of whether Minnis adapted consciously or unconsciously to the audience and situation.

The final chapter offers my assessment of Minnis' effectiveness as a persuader and shows how his operations affect the entire Intermediate Unit. I conclude with a discussion of possible future studies as well as an evaluation of the importance and potential productiveness of studies of this sort.

I used the case history design which Blau and Scott say ". . . is the typical research design employed in the study of formal organization."[26] Blau and Scott divide case studies into three categories:

1. exploratory studies, in which familiarity is gained with some problems or new insights are achieved that can guide further research.
2. descriptive studies, which define and portray the characteristics of the object of research or determine the frequency of various occurrences and examine their associations with one another.
3. hypothesis-testing studies, which focus on the collection of data that permit the confirmation of a given hypothesis, or set of hypotheses, and thereby help to determine the probable validity

of the theory from which it is derived.[27]

The purpose of this study was primarily exploratory. Descriptions are offered in order to explain the nature of situations in which persausion is necessary. The study does not seek to test any hypotheses. Rather, it seeks hypotheses to be tested by future case studies of similar organizational situations.

Observation of Minnis was accomplished through my role as participant observer. Other observational postures would have been ineffective for, as Dr. Wolf had advised prior to the beginning of my internship, in order to observe many of the conversations between Minnis and the persons with whom he dealt my presence had to appear necessary, that is I had to appear to be a member of Minnis' staff.

I kept notes whenever I could, posing as secretary. After these meetings I would recopy the notes for Minnis and anyone else who was supposed to see them. In meetings where I could not take notes, I attempted to remember the main topics of conversation, and often I would ask Minnis about details which I could not remember clearly. I added my comments and conclusions after the formal business was concluded.

I added to my data about each event by asking Minnis questions before and after each event, often during traveling time, free time, or in his office. The questions asked were:

Before: What is your goal?

Who is the target person and what do you know about him?

How do you plan to accomplish that goal?

How would you know your goal was accomplished?

After: Do you think you accomplished you goal? (Although this was often known from the observation)

How did you accomplish your goal?

What could you have done to accomplish your goal?

I made limited use of documents. I seldom saw memos directed to Minnis, though I often sent memos for him. Once I had written a memo, Minnis and I would go over it to be sure it contained the necessary information and was worded correctly. In addition to taking notes on the communication observed, I also kept a day to day journal of what I did, with whom I met, and what Minnis did that day.

In order to assess effectiveness of a particular encounter I used the following criteria:

Level of Attainment	Criteria
G_1	a. Minnis made a specific request or raised a particular subject and there is evidence (orally, in writing, or behaviorally) that the subject of discussion is agreed to be of value and the party will participate in the program or activity.
	b. evidence that the request is granted and the party will comply with the request through action.
G_2	a. evidence that the suject is agreed to be of value, however, the party does not wish to

commit itself to participate at the present time.

b. evidence that the request is thought to be legitimate, however, the party does not wish to commit itself to action at the present time.

G_3 a. evidence that the subject is agreed to be of value, however, the party does not wish to participate.

b. evidence that the request is thought to be legitimate, however, the party does not wish to act upon that request, for whatever reasons may be given.

G_4 a. evidence that the subject has no value and the party will not participate.

b. evidence that the request is felt to be unfounded or otherwise not worthy of consideration.

G_5 a. & b. evidence that the party will not discuss the subject.

G_1 represents complete success. However, progress could be determined on a basis of sequential or continuous accomplishment. The initial interaction may have begun at level G_3 and through further conversation move to G_3. Although the end goal has not been achieved, the conversation has had some degree of success.

While observing Minnis' conversations I attempted to categorize

his statements according to the rhetorical strategy used, implementing Aristotle's definitions of ehtos, pathos, and logos.

> The first kind reside in the character [ethos] of the speaker; the second consist in producing a certain [the right] attitude in the hearer; the third appertain to the argument proper, in so far as it actually or seemingly demonstrates.[28]

Following these difinitions, examples of each category and of what they might consist are given below:

I. Ethos: Statement with which Minnis established himself as . . .

A. a friend; e.g., asking about family, friends, hobbies, or extending/accepting a social invitation.

B. an authority; i.e., citing examples which show his knowledge, experience, success, and achievements relative to the subject of discussion.

C. trustworthy; e.g., assuring someone that he has never steered them wrong before and won't now.

D. an objective observer; i.e., he can see things that the listener, because of involvement, cannot.

E. respectful; i.e., acknowledging the respect of authority and/or trust he feels for the person spoken to or about.

II. Pathos: Statement with which Minnis established himself as . . .

A. a means to improvement through the use of emotion; i.e., stressing the benefits of compliance through an appeal to duties, welfare, etc.

B. a concerned observer; e.g., saying he doesn't want the listener to lose in some way, and this is the purpose for the advice being given.

III. Logos: Statement with which Minnis established the subject of discussion as. . .

A. a thing of special value to the listener in comparison to other involved parties; e.g., for the same cost or involvement the listerer has more to gain from the end product than others involved.

B. a reasonable thing to do; i.e., giving substantiated rationale for the listener to comply.

C. a means for financial gain; e.g., pointing out that compliance can, in one way or another, provide monetary gains or savings.

The purpose of this categorization was to provide a differentiation of rhetorical strategies used by Minnis, and to provide an approximation of to what extent each type was used.

After observing and categorizing the degree of goal achievement and the rhetorical strategies used, I compared the information. There were several possibilities which I felt might be determined by my observations:

1) Minnis uses different rhetorical strategies with different people or in different situations.
2) Certain rhetorical strategies are successful and others are not.
3) Some rhetorical strategies are combined to achieve success.
4) Some rhetorical strategies are successful with some people or in some situations.

5) A sequence of rhetorical strategies completes the varying levels of goal achievement.

A report on these possible determinations will be found in the final chapter.

Chapter IV

Case Observations

Case I: Business Interaction at the PDE

Circumstances

Minnis' job in the Intermediate Unit requires him to make frequent trips to Harrisburg, the state capital. These trips provide him with an opportunity to talk personally with members of two of the major bodies with which he must keep in close contact, the Pennsylvania Department of Education and the Pennsylvania State Assembly.

On October 6, 1976 Minnis and I went to Harrisburg to obtain information from the PDE, specifically to clarify some details of a budget for a Title IV, B project. This title provides funds and restrictions on spending on library materials, instructionsl equipment, and guidance and counseling materials. This meeting took place in an office at the PDE with an administrator of Title IV, B. I will refer to this administrator as "X."

Meeting with X is not an unusual circumstance. In fact, the meeting arrangements are informal enough that Minnis does not need an appointment to see this PDE administrator. Thus, the meetings are also informal, due to previous conversations and their mutual task of administrating Title IV, B.

Speaker/Audience Relationship and Expectations

Minnis introduced me as an intern from Penn State and my role

was strictly one of observer. Other than X, Minnis, and me, the only other people present were the man with whom X shares his office (he was not there for most of the meeting) and X's secretary, who was there long enough to provide us with specific information X requested in order to answer Minnis' questions.

Since both X and Minnis are overseers of Title IV, B operations, and this is their only professional relationship, it was understood that this would be the focus of the conversation and the purpose for which Minnis had come to see X.

Occasionally X seeks information from Minnis but, for the most part, since X is in a higher administrative position in reference to Title IV, B than Minnis, it is usually Minnis who is seeking the information. Such was the case at this meeting, although X did ask Minnis' opinions on several issues related to the Title IV, B budget and reports.

Goals

The specific purpose for seeing X was to seek clarification on several categories contained in the state required budget report of Title IV, B expenditures. A new budget report form had been instituted and Minnis was not familiar with some of the regulations pertaining to this new form. Minnis expected X to answer the questions which he asked and he expected X to ask him questions about expenditures specific to I.U. #5. X, in turn, expected Minnis to ask questions and expected Minnis to answer any questions asked of him.

The specific goal of acquiring information, once accomplished, proved Minnis' belief that there was another goal on this occasion.

The information alerted Minnis that I.U. #5 had made an error either in reporting or incurring a certain expenditure. Minnis was aware of the error prior to the meeting. It had been made by the project director, and administrator in another I.U. division. Minnis attempted to persuade X to take the proper steps to correct this error. Conversation with Minnis after the meeting indicated that X was not required to correct the error. In addition, Minnis said that this was not something he could ask X to do very often, as ideally the subordinate administrators do not make mistakes, or at least do not voluntarily admit them.

Strategies

Most of Minnis' talk in this situation could be described as ethos-building. Minnis established himself as a friend by joking and general conversation; as an authority, through his statements about Title IV, B and administrative details related to that title; as trustworthy, in statements pertaining to the error, such as saying it was not done intentionally; and as respectful, through the questions he asked X and statements Minnis made about how much confidence he had in X.

Appeal to the emotions was exemplified by statements which implied that Minnis needed help from X. Minnis made statements about the difficulty created by the new regulations and the description of how much trouble he would be in because of an error seemed to be an oblique plea for mercy.

The only facts cited by Minnis were the circumstances of the error, but these statements were cloaked in appeals by Minnis for

personal consideration by X. There appeared to be no formal argument offered.

Outcome

Minnis accomplished both his original goal as well as the one suspected and confirmed in the course of the conversation. He obtained the information he needed by asking questions. Accomplishment of the second goal, however, required more persuasion due to the exceptional nature of the request. After all, it was X's job to give information. However in the case of the error it was not X's duty to correct errors made by subordinate administrators. Minnis used a strategy in which he fully acknowledged X's authority and asserted the high degree of confidence which he had in him. Minnis placed himself in a subordinate role, thus allowing X to act as the superior and to condescend to act in a helpful manner.

Since X both provided the information Minnis sought and verbally agreed to correct the error, goal attainment was G_1. A later conversation with Minnis revealed that he was fully aware of the manner in which he was attempting to persuade X on the second goal, however, he was not aware of the use of strategies for accomplishment of the original goal, that is he did not see the questions about the budget report as a strategy. Minnis and I both agreed that his strategies were totally effective in this case, that is he reached the highest level of goal accomplishment. This was further confirmed in a later conversation with X which revealed that the error had been corrected; thus behavior concorded with verbal compliance.

Case II: Hallway Encounter with a Minor Official at the PDE

Circumstances

The meeting between Minnis and this man, "Y," occurred in a hallway of the PDE building after we had completed the business with X. This was not a typical meeting. Customarily the two then had little contact and they met by accident. Y, although not totally surprised because of Minnis' frequent presence at the PDE, had not expected to see Minnis.

The norms for this situation were extremely informal. In addition to the natural informality of a hallway meeting, Minnis later told me that he had worked with Y when they first began their careers in the field of educational administration. Thus, it was a meeting of old friends rather than a business meeting.

Speaker/Audience Relationship and Expectations

The encounter was mainly between Minnis and Y. The conversation was so lively between the two that it was several minutes before my presence was acknowledged. My role was that of observer. At the beginning of the encounter the two men were interacting as friends more than as orgar.izational associates, for, up to this point, the men had evidently had no reason to interact professionally to any degree since their prior association. Thus, the conversation at the outset was about personal, rather than business, matters.

Goals

The apparent goal for both men appeared to be to talk in a

friendly manner and catch up on recent events in each others' lives. Almost anything either said would have been satisfying.

However, during the conversation, another goal emerged for Minnis. His respondent, it appeared, had recently been promoted in the PDE organizational structure and his new position included determining the details of a new subsidy proposal for the educational system of the state. This particular subsidy proposal was of great importance to Minnis and I.U. #5 for it included funding of programs for intermediate units. Minnis thus discovered that his old friend was now in a position which could directly affect important decisions at the I.U. In addition, Minnis had recently been appointed to obtain and disseminate information on the subsidy proposals to the intermediate units and it was his desire to attempt to acquire a voice in the writing of those proposals. Thus, the goal which emerged was for Minnis to make a continuing contact with Y so that he might have an opportunity to exert his influence. He did not need to acquire information from Y as it was easily accessible from other sources.

Strategies

The bulk of the conversation in this case also was devoted to renewing the old relationship. Minnis sought the ethos as friend throughout the conversation by discussing past events, personal matters, and making jokes. He could use the relationship later on, once it was clear how much power his respondent had.

However, when the goal of making a professional contact with Y emerged, the strategy of ethos-building was broadened with the use of pathos. This was partially due to the respondent's surprised response

when Minnis requested a meeting to discuss the subsidy proposals. Minnis established why he wanted to meet formally with Y, that they were both working on the subsidy proposals. He also qualified this by saying the intermediate units did not want to pressure the PDE, rather, they wanted to express their concerns and problems to the PDE so that a workable subsidy proposal could be determined. This ethos-building strategy was similar to the one used by Minnis with X in that it established Minnis' position as subordinate and was an oblique plea for help.

Logos was again not evident in the conversation as facts cited were those contained in the friendly conversation which centered on their personal lives.

Outcome

Once Minnis explained his purpose in wanting to see Y in a professional setting the respondent agreed that a meeting would be beneficial to all concerned. Again Minnis had attained a G_1 level of goal accomplishment, in addition to attaining a G_1 level of goal accomplishment in the original goal of reestablishing the friendship.

It should be noted that in this case, even more so than the last, Minnis was able to perceive and fulfill a goal without preplanning. In both cases the goals which had emerged during the normal conversation required Minnis to persuade his listener to act in a way which was not typical of the established relationship.

In a later conversation with me Minnis made it clear that he was aware of the strategies used in attaining both of these goals. He explained that it was precisely this kind of impromptu meeting in

Harrisburg which gives him access to persons who can aid him in achieving his organizational goals. He seeks to sustain friendly relationships with people he encounters even though there is no specific business to discuss with them. The friendly relationships provide him entrance to business discussions if a need should arise. It appears as if Minnis has a standard pattern for dealing with the impromptu encounter.

Case III: Stopping at the Capitol

Circumstances

Minnis often goes to the Capitol Building during his time in Harrisburg to make contact with legislators and their staffs. This personal contact is useful to him in his task of keeping Tri-County Area officials up to date on current legislation. Through these personal contacts he can obtain predictions about what is going to happen in the legislature, up to the minute information on what is happening in the legislature, and immediate notice of what has happened in the legislature.

During this particular trip to the Capitol the legislature was in adjournment in order to attend to campaigns and details of the upcoming elections. However, Minnis dropped in at several offices and discovered that some legislators' staff members would be available sometime that day. They had not left town and would be stopping at their offices for various reasons, even though they were not required to do so when the assembly is not in session.

The man with whom this conversation occurred, "Z," was one such staff member. An earlier visit to his office had provided us with the information that he would be in later that afternoon. Minnis had left a message with Z's secretary that we would return at an approximate time in the hope of speaking to him.

The norms of this situation were quite informal. Minnis did not need an appointment to see Z, nor did he need to state any specific business or purpose for his visit. However, through previous conversations, and by law, this circumstance did not permit Minnis to attempt to persuade Z to take any action involving the legislative process. Persuasive statements of this nature could be classified as lobbying, which Minnis is not permitted to do by law. Thus, the norms are that Minnis may seek or give information, but Minnis must take care to not offer opinions which might be construed as lobbying.

Speaker/Audience Relationship and Expectations

The man whom we had dropped in to visit, Minnis, and I were the only persons present during the conversation. Minnis and Z knew each other from previous meetings. Although there was no apparent professional association between the two men, they did have a mutual professional interest in legislation. I was introduced as an intern from Penn State, and my role was strictly one of observer.

Within the constraints of the law mentioned earlier, Minnis and Z shared the expectation that the conversation would be friendly, but ultimately turn to the topic of current educational legislation.

Goals

Minnis' goal in this case was general as he was looking for any

information pertaining to educational legislation. However, he also had the specific goal of finding out the status of the bill on recodification of the School Code, HB 770. Minnis wanted to know if there was a chance that the bill would pass before the year's session ended. It was important for Minnis to know so that he could notify school boards, superintendents, and others who might be affected by recodification. However, it was also important to the Intermediate Unit because the School Code contains the laws which specify intermediate unit duties and limit what they are permitted to undertake as tasks. As written at that time, the bill did not provide the intermediate unit system with some powers in the area of operations which they felt were necessary, e.g., the right to own vehicles and property. Thus, Minnis wanted to know the status of this bill.

Strategies

Minnis again used ethos-building talk in the bulk of the transaction, referring to past goodwill built in previous encounters. His use of evidence, rather than emotional appeals, made this conversation different from those previously reported. Minnis attempted to build ethos through statements which implied that he had broad knowledge of educational matters and the current educational legislation. He established goodwill thorugh statements pertaining to his respondent's expertise in legislative matters and also made reference to previous interactions and their benefits, for example, saying he had been able to use information provided earlier in some beneficial manner.

Logos, in this case, was established as Minnis offered examples of how legislation affected educational operations. In addition, Z

had asked for Minnis' opinion on several items, which satisfied a latent goal. No matter how much he might want to express an opinion, Minnis could not do so without care, for it might be considered lobbying. Since Z was on a legislator's staff, it was likely he would transmit the information obtained from Minnis to the legislator, thus giving Minnis and the Intermediate Unit an indirect voice in decisions which affect them. It cannot be determined, however, if Z did express this information to his superior or if that superior used the information in any way.

Minnis was aware of both his strategies and his degree of success. In this conversation there were legal limitations as to what was/was not considered lobbying. Minnis was aware of those limitations and abided by them. Minnis walks a fine line in his talk with legislative personnel because of the legal constraints.

Minnis explained to me that the strategy he uses to deal with the legislators and their staffs in Harrisburg is one in which he only alludes to his position in the educational field. Thus, there is what he calls a "mystique" about him which allows him to interact freely with various individuals as though he is part of the Capitol scene. In essence, these people are not sure just who Minnis is. They know that he is always around, especially when there is something on the floor of the Assembly which will have direct effects on the educational system of the state. They have also found, through previous interaction, that he is very knowledgable about education and about how various programs affect geographical areas. Thus, because of their uncertainty about exactly who he is and what position he holds, in

addition to the value of the information he gives them, Minnis is given access to information and is allowed to express his opinion on various matters. Minnis must keep posted on what is going on however, in order to maintain his position as knowledgeable. As Floyed Hunter describes it, Minnis maintains his authority in the Tri-County area through management of legislative information he receives in exchange for local information.[29] In this sense, Minnis may be seen as a "knowledgeable" holding power, thereby despite the fact that he has no power by law.

Case IV: Erie City Commissioners and County School Superintendents

Circumstances

This meeting occurred in early November and took place at the Erie Court House in a conference room designated for commissioners' use. The meeting was a typical way used by the Intermediate Unit to serve the area school superintendents' information needs. However, it was somewhat atypical for the superintendents to meet with the commissioners.

Minnis was there ostensibly as an observer for it was not his place to take action in this situation. As part of the responsibility he has assumed to provide the superintendents with information. Minnis had arranged the meeting between the superintendents and commissioners, and was there as a coordinator rather than a participant. The commissioners had information the superintendents needed. Rather than acting as a mediator, Minnis arranged the meeting at the request of

the superintendents. The superintendents wanted to speak to the commissioners as a group in the hopes that their needs would be more fully realized by the commissioners.

The meeting was conducted by one of the Erie commissioners, and was run in a formal manner. It was evident that the commissioners were in control, as they had what the superintendents wanted.

Speaker/Audience Relationship and Expectations

The commissioners had no specific relationship with school superintendents, thus, they came only because they had been given the power to fund certain projects. The school superintendents wanted information on this newly available funding. The commissioners had the duty as public administrators to disseminate the information.

Minnis' purpose was to provide service. Minnis' responsibilities at the Intermediate Unit include helping school administrators obtain funds. Minnis had obtained information that additional funds under CETA had been designated to the Erie area. CETA is a program which offers training positions to unemployed persons. Organizations can apply for funds under CETA by proposing a position within their organization which may lead to permanent employment in that organization. If granted, CETA funds are used to pay that person's salary for a specified time period.

Minnis had fulfilled his service task in completing arrangements for the meeting between the commissioners and superintendents. Since specific school districts had to request the funding and not the Intermediate Unit, it was anticipated that the superintendents would be the ones who requested information. Minnis expected the

superintendents to ask the questions to which they desired answers. The commissioners expected the superintendents to ask the questions. In turn, all three parties expected the commissioners to provide any answers which they could.

Seven superintendents, Minnis, and I were present. I was not introduced and most people assumed that I was a secretary. Three commissioners did not remain for the entire meeting, but their staff members remained to provide needed information. The commissioner who was running the meeting was there for the duration.

Goals

The goal on the superintendents' parts was to obtain information pertaining to the CETA funds and to find out what chances their districts had to obtain any of that money. The commissioners' goal was to provide the superintendents with any information they could without making commitments for it was too early to do so.

Minnis' goal was to guarantee that superintendents had the information they needed in order to make application. He provided a handout which described the program and gave it to the superintendents at the beginning of the meeting. He hoped the superintendents would address their specific questions to the commissioners. Minnis did not have a specific goal for the commissioners.

Strategies

Minnis provided the superintendents with information regarding CETA funding prior to the commissioners' entrance and the beginning of the meeting. Minnis was the local authority for the superintendents on funding. His reputation was such that superintendents looked to

him for information. The handout was entirely factual. It was distributed and then discussed to clarify the details and to give the superintendents a full understanding of that funding program. No emotional appeals about availing themselves of the program were made to the superintendents.

Minnis expected that this would be his entire role in the meeting. However, the superintendents did not present themselves as expected in that they were reluctant to ask the commissioners many questions. Minnis found himself in a position where he had to speak in order to maintain his ethos with both the superintendents and the commissioners, for the superintendents' goal was not being fulfilled and the commissioners' time was being wasted.

Outcome

Minnis was very disappointed in the results of this meeting, not about the the answers received from the commissioners concerning the CETA funding, but in the behavior of the school superintendents at the meeting. As far as his personal goal achievement, he had successfully given the superintendents the information they needed from him before the meeting, thus, attaining a G_1 level. However, he did not want to become an information conduit. The intent of the meeting was to get the two groups to work directly with each other. He failed to stay out of the process. He chose to relinquish that goal in favor of another goal, that of saving his reputation.

However, Minnis did manage to achieve G_1 level of goal achievement in the overall goal of remaining an objective service agent to the school superintendents and maintaining his reputation by speaking

in place of the superintendents. In essence, he had to choose whether his goal of noninvolvement was worth more than the superintendents' failure to achieve their goal in the situation. Thus, he was in a position which required him to achieve the superintendents' goals for them so that his own future goals might not be affected.

Minnis was concerned about his ability to avoid partisanship if he was forced to speak. By using the handouts he could maintain an appearance of "objective service." By being forced to speak he had failed to reach his goal completely. In addition, he was very disappointed in the superintendents' behavior and consequently could not evaluate objectively his own communication. I believe this because Minnis expressed displeasure at the meeting in general. I do not feel that the meeting itself was a failure as Minnis successfully rescued the superintendents from their own inability to voice their requests. He did it graciously without jeopardizing his relationship with them.

Case V: Interaction with Fellow Worker at I.U. #5

Circumstances

This meeting occurred in Minnis' office at the Intermediate Unit. It was an ordinary meeting in that one of the administrators within the I.U. needed information about his budget, and Minnis administers details of the I.U. federal budgets and the reports which the state requires.

The norms of a meeting of this nature are that time will be

on the subject at hand, and not in friendly conversation. As mentioned earlier, the employees of the Intermediate Unit, for the most part, maintain busy schedules which do not permit office time to be spent socializing with one another. Minnis' office time is precious, as a result of which he is primarily concerned with business while at his office. If he was not focused entirely on business while there it would be impossible for him to accomplish his many tasks.

Speaker/Audience Relationship and Expectations

This meeting occurred between Minnis and the Program Specialist in Curriculum at the Intermediate Unit, whom I will refer to as "B." B administrates various projects in his role as Curriculum Specialist, and, as Minnis has overall administrative responsibilities of the busget details, B obtains information from him. I was present as an observer, ostensibly to acquire a basic understanding of what handling the various budget reports entailed.

In this case Minnis expected B to ask questions pertaining to the difficulty he was having in filing his budget report. B expected to obtain the information he needed in order to properly complete his budget report.

Goals

Both men are partially responsible for budget reports being properly filed with the state. Thus, it was the goal of both men to see that the questions B had about where to place specific expenditures on the budget report were answered. Ultimately the goal was to file the budget report with the state properly.

Strategies

The bulk of the communication in this interaction was evidence pertaining to the rules and regulations for spending and reporting funds under this particular budget. The conversation was factual; B asked questions which Minnis answered.

Little ethos-building took place, however, for through the organizational structure Minnis was the authority on this particular matter and prior conversations had established Minnis' ethos. Minnis consistently presented himself as an authority by providing B with definitive answers.

During a short period in which the two men had difficulty determining the proper procedure for filing a certain item on the budget report there were some emotional issues raised. These were concerned with Minnis' expressions of wishing to avoid hassles with the budget report and the possible problems a misfiling could create which, at worst, funding could be revoked.

Outcome

The outcome of this meeting was that some of the questions B asked were answered, thus the goal achievement level was G_2. Another item was unclear to both men at the time, though Minnis clarified this problem later through a PDE contact. The later acquisition of information on Minnis' part allowed him to reach a goal level achievement of G_1 on the earlier interaction by completing the goal of that original conversation with B.

Case VI: Luncheon for Career Education Project

Circumstances

This luncheon meeting was held at the University Club in Erie, Pa. Minnis was there as administrator of the Career Education Project, as were his staff members who coordinate that project, Barrett and Wolchick.

This was an unusual meeting for two reasons. First, the I.U. budgets do not provide much additional money with which to finance luncheon meetings; and second, the meeting was with men and women from business any industry in the area who would not normally have any contact with the Intermediate Unit.

The norms of the situation were quite formal; Minnis and staff at the head of the table with the guests at either side. It was also conducted in a formal manner, that is speeches were given and the meeting was then opened for discussion.

Speaker/Audience Relationship and Expectations

The audience, the guests at the luncheon who were members of various business and industrial organizations, did not know very much about the Intermediate Unit, career education, or the Career Education Project at the Intermediate Unit. They had been informed when invited that these would be discussed in order to familiarize them with these subjects. Thus, the audience expected to hear about career education and its implementation through the I.U. project.

Minnis and his staff expected the audience to listen to the

information they presented and to also ask questions and comment on what had been said when the meeting was opened for discussion.

Goals

The communicative goal of this situation was to inform these people about career education and the I.U. project and to create enough interest in this for some of the audience to become involved in the project. Specifically, it was important to Minnis to get some of the audience to attend an upcoming career education convention in Houston, Texas. Minnis and his staff realized that the fact that persons attending would get no financial assistance from the I.U. would inhibit goal accomplishment.

The audience's attendance at the convention was important to Minnis and the Intermediate Unit staff, particularly Barrett and Wolchick, for the Career Education Project was to be reevaluated for funding this year. The effort to recruit area businessmen to the convention was based on a belief that if the staff could demonstrate that area businessmen were involved with the project they would be further aided in maintaining funding for the Career Ecucation Project.

Strategies

Minnis did most of the speaking on this occasion, although Barrett and Wolchick presented brief talks on specific items; Barrett the Career Education Project and Wolchick the convention.

Minnis used each of the three strategies in his presentaiton. Ethos was used as he declared himself an authority through reference to his role at the Intermediate Unit and his experiences. He indicated his respect for the audience and the responsible positions in

business and industry they held. He expressed his desire for the I.U. and business organizations to aid one another in preparing today's students for the working world. By so doing he suggested a shared responsibility.

Pathos was employed by illustrating problems with employees in business and industry, thus showing sympathy with the problems these organizations have in dealing with their employees. Minnis also emphasized problems children have in school and in later adjusting to the world of work.

Evidence was provided through citation of authorities, for example, a statement made by Past President Lyndon Johnson and quotes from people working in business and industry. In addition, statistics were given which further illustrated the problems with which business and industry must deal, and how career education could aid them in this task.

Outcome

The goal achievement of this meeting was hard to assess, for there were about 17 people present. Clearly the entire audience was not convinced of the value of career education or the part which they could take in it. There were many different levels of goal achievement. Following the meeting, informal conversations with the guests revealed that about five or six audience members expressed an interest to become involved with the project and to attend the convention. Although these verbalizations indicated some accomplishment of the goal, I do not feel that a G_1 level of achievement was reached. Many of the members of the audience were still unclear as to what was

expected of them when the meeting adjourned, and at one point in the discussion this was expressed by an audience member. In addition, later contact revealed that none of those who indicated an interest in attending the convention would actually go. Minnis could have made a stronger appeal to the audience to attend the convention, however, goal accomplishment was virtually hopeless due to the audience's lack of knowledge and interest in career education and the fact that anyone attending had to pay his own expenses. Time did not allow for Minnis and his staff to build knowledge and interest and then to attempt the goal of getting those interested to attend the convention.

Case VII: Meeting with Chairman of the Legislative Council

Circumstances

This meeting was held in Minnis' office at the Intermediate Unit two weeks prior to the Legislative Council's monthly meeting. The Legislative Council is a group of school board members, one from each of the 17 districts served by the Intermediate Unit. The purpose of this Council is to join together in deciding what position on legislation is best for the districts in that area. Given this purpose, the Intermediate Unit provides the service of coordinating the Council's efforts and providing the Council with current information on educational legislation. It is Minnis' task to both coordinate the Council and provide them with the necessary information.

The norms of this situation were that Minnis not express an opinion on Council matters, however, he would aid them in any way

possible. In the case of the Legislative Council there are several psychological considerations; 1. there is the chance that Intermediate Unit opinion on educational legislation will conflict with that expressed by the Council, 2. Minnis must remain an objective observer to maintain the power of the members, i.e. members might feel they are I.U. controlled if Minnis were to express his opinions, and 3. Minnis is not in a position to express Council opinion to legislators because of his inability to lobby and the problem that I.U. opinion may differ.

Speaker/Audience Relationship and Expectations

Minnis, the Council chairman, and I as acting secretary of the Council were present at this meeting. We had this preliminary meeting to determine the agenda for the Council's monthly meeting; the chairman because she would be presiding at the meeting, Minnis because he was the source of information for matters upon which the Council would take action, and I because I would notify the other members of what the agenda for this meeting would entail and how they should prepare themselves in order to be active participants at the meeting, such as reading certain legislation or discussion an issue with their own school board to determine opinion.

Minnis' goal in this situation was to organize the meeting agenda in the manner in which the chairman desired and provide her with any information which she might need. The chairman's goal was to obtain information which would be of value to the Council and to include this on the agenda. My purpose was to organize the agenda and the details of the meeting for the chairman in a pattern from which she could best preside at the meeting.

Strategies

The bulk of the communication was ethos-building and the presentation of evidence. However, at one point there was an emotional appeal to the chairman that the effects of two projects she desired to have the Council undertake would be undesirable.

Minnis established himself as an authority by providing the chairman with legislative information. He also established himself as a service agent to the chairman and the Council by stating that there were a number of things which the chairman desired he do which in fact, he could not.

Minnis' attempt to refrain from becoming involved with certain Council activities was further illustrated with logical evidence as to why he had neither the time nor the power to fulfill these requests, one of which was to inform the Council as to how it could become a "viable" organization. In this case, as stated earlier, Minnis could have aliented the Council if he made them feel he controlled Council opinion.

Outcome

Minnis achieved his goal of providing the chairman with current information and of aiding her in formulating the agenda for the next meeting. G_1 was the level of goal achievement.

I should be noted, however, that Minnis' attempts to establish his inability to focus all of his attentions on Council business was further demonstrated by his being called out of the office and leaving me to finish organizing the details of the meeting. Unfortunately, although Minnis was able to convince the chairman of his limitations

at their private meeting, at the following Council meeting she placed Minnis in a position where he had to express an opinion. The chairman said as she turned the floor over to Minnis, "He said it so beautifully in his office."

Summary

These seven interactions present a fairly complete representation of the conversations in which Minnis partakes. The various situations require that he use a variety of rhetorical strategies, as these case reports indicate. An overview of the observations lead to several generalizations:

1. Minnis' strategies were primarily ethos-building. In addition, logical and emotional appeals were used.
2. Minnis effectively employed rhetorical strategies without prior preparation, and apparently without full consciousness.
3. Minnis established relationships through cumulative conversations.

An overall view of these generalizations and their significance will be given in the next, and final chapter.

Chapter V

Conclusion

The Northwest Tri-County Intermediate Unit was a field in which I could observe the communicative activities of David G. Minnis, Specialist in State and Federal Liaison Services. Minnis' job was particularly suitable to observe because of the many face to face conversations required for him in order to accomplish his tasks and because of the intrinsic persuasive nature of the goals of his tasks.

My internship arrangements generally allowed me to take the position of participant-observer so that I could see how communication observed in this organization resembles what is projected in authoritative books. My attempt to observe was focused by the question: Under what circumstances, for what purposes, and in what forms does this man (Minnis) employ rhetorical strategies to gain compliance from his associates with his advice, requests, and decisions?

Previous studies had centered on the communicative behavior which occurs between hierarchal levels of one organization and in organizations which have some formal authority so that the members of the organization could, for the most part, issue directives to members lower on the organizational chart in order to accomplish their goals. This is not the case in an intermediate unit. The I.U. must persuade other organizations to comply with their advice, requests, and decisions on matters such as state and federal funding, local educational programs, and a variety of other service oriented tasks which, according to state law, are the I.U.'s purpose to accomplish. The I.U. has responsibility without direct authority. It is a new kind of service

organization and as such is confronted with basic problems arising from the fact that it has not yet stabalized its operations.

The various intermediate units have achieved varying levels of success. Since no unit has direct power, we can, presumably, discover reasons for success in the behavior of the personnel. If we can discover how rhetoric can be used to advance the aims of this type of organization we might increase the success of other intermediate units and organizations like them. In addition, this study provides the studies of both communication and organizations with information not previously acquired about how rhetorical strategies can be used to obtain compliance with organizational goals when there is no formal authority with which to direct compliance.

This study illustrates that rhetorical strategies can be used as a means to attain compliance in an organization by an individual who has no formal authority. Most important is the notion that organizational rhetoric is a cumulative process which requires Minnis to use a variety of strategies applied to different situations to accomplish necessary tasks. The building of goodwill (ethos) is a process carried on with anyone, however peripheral, who can render some service. No contact can be wasted. Minnis is on-stage most of the time, just in case there may be some future utility to be served by the individual.

Minnis' strategies enable him to build cumulative relationships with people in the other organizations with which the Intermediate Unit must deal. Through these relationships Minnis is able to acquire information, disseminate information, exert influence on higher

authorities, and obtain compliance with his advice, requests, and decisions. Minnis is very much aware of the relationship his established contacts have to the success he maintains. However, he does not appear to be continually conscious of the strategies he uses in maintaining these relationships. Rather, he seems to operate from experience. He has worked long enough and has been perceptive enough to possess common bits of experience to discuss with each individual in a given situation. To a large extent Minnis uses the "old school tie" as a source of topics. Minnis and the men with whom he deals shared a common experience: usually education at a state college, training to be an educational administrator, the uncertainties of capricious funding. They mutually confirm and support each other. They do not deal with high powered professors nor with women. The world of the I.U. administrator is a private club. By job description and qualifications it is restricted so that few dissenters enter it. Thus if one prospers all do. Minnis' skill lies in his ability to transmit to the person to whom he speaks that he is very much like them, offers no threat, and can provide support and effort for the common good.

In addition to ethos-building strategies, Minnis also uses logical and emotional appeals during his communication. These appear to be used sparingly compared to ethos-building. They are not primary means to goal accomplishment because these two strategies are generally used within an ethos-building strategy. Prime among the pathetic uses seems Minnis' ability to evoke magnanimity from a superior by conceding his own error and "pleading for mercy."

In addition to his ability to make the right moves in different

situations, Minnis has the ability to select the proper posture toward the other with little advance warning. He knows the norms of most of the situations he is likely to encounter and he has been able to associate the goals of his position in the I.U. so closely with his ordinary life that he seems to be able to derive some small accomplishment with every encounter. Minnis is aware of the effects his impromptu conversations have on his success also, but he is not always conscious at the time that he is even using strategies. It is possible to see Minnis as a toady or a conformist. If we do not understand the pressures of the world of educational administrators, it is easy to misinterpret Minnis' moves. The situatior demands conformity and the man who can conform in subtle detail derives the greatest persuasive power.

An interesting question of definition arises here. Is Minnis using rhetoric or social reflex? It is my contention that Minnis is engaged in a constant invention process which involves a merger between his idea of what must be done to achieve the goals of his organization, which in turn involves what must be done by him in order to keep his position within the organization with his understanding of the social milieu of the "world of educators." My observations of Minnis demonstrate he is thoroughly versed in the norms of educational talk. He knows how to give deference to the proper people and he knows enough to demand little obeisance from the people with whom he associates. His eye is on compliance in the form of behavior which advances the goals of his organization, ard it appears to me to be his particular strength that he is able to put his own inconvenience in the

background (as in the case of the meeting between the superintendents and the commissioners) in order to make sure that his orgnaization's goals are accomplished.

We might ascribe part of this to Minnis' urgency for survival, yet the desire to survive is not so unusual. It is neither odd nor unethical for a man to want to keep his job. What is unusual in this case is the recognition that the job is retained through the accomplishment of mutual advantage. Without ever saying so, Minnis' message to his clientele is that "we are in it together. To the extent that I perform for you, you will keep me in a position where I can continue to perform and thus we are both rewarded." This premise helps Minnis operate with the use of his ability to perceive and analyse the people with whom he talks. He may not be manipulating consciously, but he is constantly aware of needs as they develop in the other person and he knows when not to push his luck. He is able to alter his presentational self to meet exigences. For example, in the chance encounter with the old friend, once he discovered that the man's new position made him useful to Minnis' aims, the observer could see the subtle shifts in his style as he moved to obtain an alliance using a former social contact to generate a useful work contact. Most officials have trouble stepping down to ordinary conversation. Minnis, despite his power, is able to shift rapidly from superordinate, to subordinate, to equal status with his respondents in order to meet his need.

And, it is clear that he has power. He has developed sources of information so that he can help planners with advance news of

changes in legislation or administrative pattern. He has knowledge of how to obtain federal money, an ability very valuable to school administrators. Still, if he asserted how powerful he was he could well offend and deter people from dealing with him. His power is useless unless he expends it. Thus, he is in a prccess of constant persuasion; first to get people to avail themselves of what he has to offer and secondly, to do it unobtrusively so that they never discover just how much power he has.

It is interesting to note that while Minnis moves confidently in his professional role, outside it he is quiet and displays little authority. There are some wild implications here. Is the world of the educator a closed world designed to keep the public at a distance? Is the professional educator a charlatan whose primary commitment is to the maintenance of the institutions that employ him and his fellows? There was little talk among these educators about their eventual targets, the children to be educated. Private conversations between Minnis and me sometimes centered on the effects the educational projects had on the children, however. There were no arguments or philosophical discussions about educational issues during his conversations with other educational administrators. The concentration was on form, detail, protocol, and bureaucratic matters. While one man may not document the case, it raises many questions about the message of the rhetoric of educators. By closing ranks and making it possible for Minnis' style to be effective, it is entirely possible that they have blocked out the important and controversial issues of what is good for the children.

There are some real implications in the study of Minnis' persuasive behavior for all organizations and particularly for organizations composed of experts who serve at the will of a political superordinacy.

1) It appears that any organizational contact contains the possibility of a rhetorical exigence. Scholars who examine organizational communication and who concentrate only on formal meetings may well miss a great deal of pertinent information, and may even miss the real deployment of rhetorical strategy. Study must be devoted to even the most informal contacts.
2) Although I was not able to study the other members of the Intermediate Unit in depth, it appeared that each of them operated in much the same fashion as Minnis. They were on stage all the time and constantly engaged in persuasion when they talked with their external clientele. This observation implies that within the organization there must be a jockeying for position, though it appears that the personnel know that the I.U. can be weakened by in-fighting and therefore, there appears to be some tacit agreement to minimize friction within the organization. It would be interesting to investigate the relationship between organizational effectiveness and power jockeying within the organization. I appears to me that within I.U. #5 there simply is not time for fighting. Fighting is left to the secretaries in addition to their total responsibility for sustaining the gossip which is the life-blood of a bureaucratic organization. (One interesting note: I once made the mistake of reporting

my weight loss to a secretary. I later discovered my weight loss was known by everyone in the office. This helped me to understand why the officials of I.U. #5 kept personal matters at a bare minimum.)

3. The State Finance and Budget Committee Report mentioned earlier indicates that some intermediate units were more successful than others. It would be interesting to enter one of the less functional intermediate units and compare administrator behavior with that of Dave Minnis. It would be a reasonable hypothesis that an intermediate unit would fail if, 1) officials demanded compliance, 2) officials failed to have information useful to their clientele, 3) officials were unable to intercede to protect and buffer their clientele, 4) officials appeared to regard themselves as superiors to the clientele they served, and 5) officials came from a different background from their clientele, that is not members of the "club." Would lack of men like Dave Minnis reduce the effectiveness of the organization? What might happen if an intermediate unit executive director simply took the bull by the horns and declared himself to be the replacement for the county superintendent and demanded compliance from the schools? Rumor has it that some intermediate unit directors did just that. (I was informed that the most "successful" intermediate unit in the state was headed by a former curriculum director from the PDE. While at the PDE this superintendent was regarded as a "radical" and a "Young Turk," but as an intermediate unit director he was not only

able to obtain the highest level of federal and state funding in the Commonwealth for his districts but he was able to fund and maintain a major state-wide project which has now drawn national attention. One informant told me this man had a personality much like Minnis, only more so.)

4. Ethos-building seems to be the order of the day. Each official seems to need to declare himself to be like every other official. Logical appeals are confined to the exchange of information. Arguments do not exist. There is no desputing the action of PDE or HEW. What is, is. There is no point to Minnis' disagreeing with anyone. There is no way he can win an argument. There is also no one to take the other side. He might raise an issue, but it is likely that he will not be answered. He might "prove" that a superintendent ought to do such and such, but that proof would not guarantee compliance. By the same token he might disagree with educational legislation or administrative guidelines, yet despite that his task is still to understand them and make them work. Thus argument has no value for him though information does. If there is a logic to Minnis' presentations it is, "here is some information about what can happen and how to make it happen." Presumably the goals specified by the legislation are sufficiently appealing to get people to participate. If they aren't, there is little Minnis can do about it without jeopardizing his position. Thus, when he is invited to serve, he can provide needed information. If he isn't invited, he might be just as successful if he were to

stay home, as he cannot force himself and maintain the organization's service objective.

Similar reasoning keeps the use of emotion to a minimum. About the only time Minnis appears to use emotion is to generate goodwill through jokes and reminiscences with friends and colleagues. Occasionally he subtly presents himself in a subordinate position (as with the PDE administrator) in order to get someone to volunteer to something that Minnis could not ask him to do directly.. Even when the going got rough (superintendents vs. commissioners) and things definitely did not go the way Minnis planned them, he displayed no temper, no exhortation. He merely continued to maintain the ethical position and to disseminate information. Afterward, for a moment in private, he might permit himself the luxury of an expostulation. Then back to work.

It would be interesting to discover how other officials manage themselves in other intermediate units. It may well be that Minnis' ability to manage himself emotionally and to keep the information accurate and complete represents his "secret" of success. The question then arises: Where do you find People like this? Can they be trained? Minnis' educational background partially explains his expertise at what he does. He was a secondary teacher of social studies and earned a master's degree in guidance and counseling. At present he is enrolled in graduate study to obtain his superintendents' certificate. Minnis claims his skill came thrcugh experience. He left the classroom to become an administrative assistant to a supervising principal. Administering federal programs within the school district was a part of the administrative post. His next position, Assistant

Director at the Federal Educational Projects Center in Meadville, Pa., entailed administering the research, developing, and coordinating innovative programs for five school districts. In 1973 he became a member of the Intermediate Unit staff. Thus, his previous positions did require him to make similar contacts, many of which he uses for achieving his present organizational goals. Although his background gives no indication of whether Minnis entered the field whith specific persuasive abilities, nor does it suggest how he obtained those abilities, it is clear that his background qualified him to be with others of similar background. If persons with abilities like Minnis' are essential to the smooth operation of agencies like an intermediate unit then there must be a way for training to provide them. It appears, however, that training is intrinsic in the system. Compliance with norms and conformity with ideas seem to be trained into a man. Perhaps a hiring officer ought to try to provoke a fight with each interviewee and hire the one (given proper credentials) who responded in the most mollifying manner.

Minnis' importance was made clear to me as I contemplated the question: What would happen to I.U. #5 if Minnis were suddenly to disappear (to a better job, of course)? Given that much of what he had done was cumulative, the organization would be set back by the number of years that it took Minnis to build his working relationships. The new man would have to strike up acquaintances in Harrisburg and around the region. He would have to learn state school law and understand precisely how the intermediate unit fits. He would have to learn how to extract information unobtrusively and how to exert influence on

legislation without appearing to be a lobbyist. However, a legacy would be left with which the new man would have to cope. The trust extended to Minnis might well turn into mistrust of the new man. It is entirely possible that the norms Minnis has carefully worked out with his respondents are because of a long shared experience... Minnis may have relationships with his respondents that few others in his position are able to have. There may be a competetive air about the whole thing. After all, an official has only so much time and so much trust. Minnis' leaving would not guarantee that his residue of goodwill would devolve on his replacement. On the contrary, there may be another official of another intermediate unit who would become the recipient of wat Minnis was previously receiving.

Although I am not advocating an indispensable man theory, I think that a man like Minnis is as indispensable as anyone is likely to be. An intermediate unit with people as effective as Minnis would clearly be successful. People like Minnis, apparently, are in limited supply.

Thus, I have demonstrated in a case history which serves as an extended illustration that rhetoric of a particular kind operates in an organization like the intermediate unit. I have raised some questions about the particular form of the rhetoric and have concluded that it is primarily ethos-building with restrictions on the amount and type of logos and pathos employed. I have also ascertained that ethos-building is both personal and cumulative, directed at conformity, and it cannct be replaced by moving a new man into the position.

As organizations like the intermediate units become more

characteristic of bureaucratic administration, more and more attention will need to be paid to the use of rhetorical strategies in continuing interpersonal situations. Attention will need to be paid to the issue of how to blend "friendship" and business, and how to train organizational employees to synthesize organizational and personal goals so that they serve organizational ends throughout their professional and personal operation. Further case histories, particularly in less effective agencies than I.U. #5, are necessary before we can support even the most rudimentary hypotheses.

Footnotes

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